






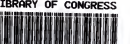


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## THE "AMULATADO" TYPE IN SPANISH

ONE OF THE GREATEST ACHIEVEMENTS of modern style is the elaborate use of adjectives. Those who remain satisfied with indicating general, vague impressions are rejected as clumsy writers. It is a world-wide tendency affecting every cultivated language and based upon a certain spiritual attitude of the whole of Europe.<sup>1</sup> But the reactions of the various tongues are different according to their structure. Modern French, for instance, is known to possess but few possibilities of direct word-formation. So it has resort to a kind of improper derivation, consisting of the shifting of numerous nouns into the class of adjectives. Thus, it excels in suggesting a very delicate gradation of colorings: *un bleu couleur de nuit; le ciel gris de perle; le feu rouge cuivre*. Spanish is passing through a different stage of development. Like English and German, it is decidedly favorable to new formations, but it proceeds not so much by compounds as by suffixes. In this language, a very peculiar type, unknown to most of the sister tongues, has come to render similar services: *aborregado, acabellado, acardenillado, agarbanzado, amembrillado, anacarado, aperlado, atabacado, atezado*, all of them denoting the color perceived in a being or an object that, linguistically, functions as the stem.<sup>2</sup>

To a great extent, expansion of such words depends on the literary aims of the writers. Discovery of hitherto unsuspected qualities rests on the sharpening of powers of observation and gives proof of a realistic outlook. Now, realism appears in literary France conspicuously in the nineteenth century,<sup>3</sup> whereas Spain knew two schools at two separate periods that may easily lay claim to this title. So the type *vert olive, bleu prune*, though it can be traced back to a previous epoch,<sup>4</sup> has but recently overflowed into French prose, whereas "*amulatado*" was in general use among the poets, novelists, explorers, historians and legislators of the Golden Age: *abrasilado* (Zúñiga), *abutardado* (Espinar), *aconejado* (Osuna), *ahigadado* (Solís), *ahornerado* (Arch. Protoc. Sevilla, 1550), *alcoholado* (Oviedo), *aleonado* (Calvo), *ametelado* (Canc. de Encina), *azurado* (Guevara), all of them designating a hue.

If we are safe then in ascribing our type to the traditional elements of Castilian, we must ask why it took root in the Spanish Peninsula alone.

1. Cf. G. Lanson, *L'Art de la prose*, Paris, 1909, pp. 239-246.

2. All the material here presented is based on the *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española*, Academia Española, Madrid, 2 vol. (A-Ce), 1933-36.

3. Cf. Leo Spitzer, *Stilstudien, 1: Sprachstile*, München, 1928, pp. 1-11.

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#2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF *-ivu* IN LATIN AND ROMANCE

BY  
YAKOV MALKIEL  
NEW YORK CITY

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#3

*ATRISTAR-ENTRISTECER*

Adjectival Verbs in Spanish, Portuguese  
and Catalan

BY

YAKOV MALKIEL

[Reprinted from *Studies in Philology*, XXXVIII, 3, July, 1941.]

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#4

THE LATINITY OF DATED DOCUMENTS IN THE  
PORTUGUESE TERRITORY

REVIEW BY  
YAKOV MALKIEL  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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#5

PORTUGUESE WORD-FORMATION WITH SUFFIXES

(Language Dissertation No. 33)

By JOSEPH H. D. ALLEN

REVIEWED BY

YAKOV MALKIEL

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

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#6

OČERKI PO ISTORII ŽYKOV ISPANII. By V. ŠIŠMAREV. (Akademiā Nauk SSSR: Institut Žyka i Myšleniā imeni N. Ā. Marra, Seriā Romano-Germanica, Vol. 5.) Pp. xi + 338 (incl. 17 maps). Moskva & Lenin-grad: Akademiā Nauk SSSR, 1941.

The publication in the Soviet Union of these Outlines of the History of the Languages of Spain is a significant fact in itself. It testifies to the desire on the part of Russian scholars to catch up with their Western colleagues in fields heretofore neglected. According to the author's own statement, his is the first contribution to Hispanic linguistics in Russian. As such, it cannot be expected to be flawless; indeed, measured by the standard of recent Russian attainments

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF PORTUGUESE *iguaria*

#7

BY  
YAKOV MALKIEL  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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#8

SPANISH *DELEZNAR* 'TO SLIDE,' *LEZNE*  
'SMOOTH, SLIPPERY'

YAKOV MALKIEL

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#9

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF HISPANIC *que(i)xar*

YAKOV MALKIEL  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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#11

# THE DERIVATION OF HISPANIC *fealdad(e)*, *fieldad(e)*, AND *frialdad(e)*

BY

YAKOV MALKIEL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Volume 1, No. 5, pp. 189-214

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OLD JUDAEO-SPANISH *yegüerta* 'MESS, DISH'

YAKOV MALKIEL  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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Vol. 21, No. 2, April-June, 1945

HISTORIA DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA. By JAIME OLIVER Asín. Fourth edition. Pp. 256. Madrid, 1940.

To the incompetent books on language written by beginners, well-intentioned amateurs, and professional popularizers must be added some contributed by otherwise intelligent writers who, under the strain of a political crisis, feel an urge to express themselves on issues which they are not prepared to discuss. Such publications are either disregarded by scientific journals or briefly listed as 'casualties'. Not so harmless is a misleading study that bears the name of a reputable author, especially if it enjoys wide circulation and is used in training

[Reprinted from PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY, Volume XXIV, Number 3  
(July, 1945)]

# HISPANIC REFLEXES OF LATIN MORSICARE

By YAKOV MALKIEL  
University of California

1. That the Latin word family of *mordēre* has cast off numerous formations in the Hispanic dialects, more so indeed than in any other branch of Romance, is a fact well known to etymologists. A few of its most interesting reflexes, however, have not yet been pointed out. It is true that among those best known *admordēre* has taken root in France only (*REW*<sup>3</sup> No. 181), yet a formation possibly derived from it is peculiar to the Iberian Peninsula: Sp. *almuerzo*, Ptg. *almôço* "breakfast, lunch," literally "bit," cf. Russian *zakuska* (the bases \**admordium*, \**armordium*, \**admorsitum*, listed in *REW*<sup>3</sup> under No. 182, are in all likelihood merely provisional).<sup>1</sup> Then we find products of *remordēre* in Spanish and Portuguese; to the types recorded by Meyer-Lübke (*REW*<sup>3</sup> No. 7201) may be added Ptg. *remorso*, corresponding to Sp. *remordimiento*; the semantic development of this branch took place at an early date in Latin and is exemplified by Lucretius, III, 827: "Praeteritis male admissis peccata remordent" (quoted by Ernout-Meillet). *Mordēre* itself has been perpetuated in all major Romance languages to the exclusion of Romanian (*REW*<sup>3</sup> No. 5679). A type \**mordācia*, thus conveniently designated, although in reality not necessarily traceable to Latin, but rather modeled on *tenāz*, *-ācis* (*REW*<sup>3</sup> No. 8638),<sup>2</sup> extends from Southern France all over Catalonia, Castile (notice the offshoot *mordacilla*), and Portugal, signifying a varying type of tool: a pair of tongs, a clog, a bridle bit, a clamp (*REW*<sup>3</sup> No. 5678). The *mordicēre* branch seems to be

<sup>1</sup>For the different interpretations of *almuerzo*, see L. S. Poston, Jr., *An Etymological Vocabulary to The Celestina, A-E* (Chicago, 1940), pp. 3-4. Diez, Ford, and the compilers of the Academy Dictionary posited the base *admorsa*, so did Meyer-Lübke in *ThLL*, I, 769. However, since his review of Ford's thesis, *LGRPh*, xxii, 297, Meyer-Lübke changed his opinion in favor of \**armordiu* later dissimilated to \**admordiu*. This theory had the support of Haaensen, Menéndez Pidal, Castro, and Fouché, while García de Diego postulated \**emordium*, patterned after *prandium*, with subsequent intrusion of *al*. For examples of OSp. *armozar*, *armuerto*, see the glossary of H. B. Richardson.

<sup>2</sup>Compare the meanings of the words and the co-existence of variants like Ptg. *tenaz* beside Sp. *tenaza*. In *Barlan e Josephina*, ed. G. Moldenhauer, both *tenas* (fol. 190v) and *tenaza* (fol. 174r) occur.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF OLD SPANISH *APESGAR*  
"TO CATCH, TO PRESS, TO WEIGH"

By YAKOV MALKIEL

I

Spanish *apesgar*, chiefly known as a synonym of "agobiar, pesar, inclinar," is a word widely used throughout the Middle Ages, not infrequently occurring in classical literature up to the time of Nieremberg and Gracián, that is to say, as late as 1660, and possibly understood and even occasionally employed for a few more decades.<sup>1</sup> There is no indication that an attempt has since been made to revive it.<sup>2</sup> *Apesgar* served both as a transitive and as a reflexive verb.<sup>3</sup> Of especial frequency was the occurrence of the past participle *apesgado*, easily converted into an adjective and then signifying "loaded down, sluggish, drowsy." Among related formations *apesgamiento*, *empesgar*, *pesga*, and *pesgo* deserve mention. Of these, the first is listed by Nebrija, can be documented from a few writers, and has been early designated as obsolete, implicitly by Covarrubias and explicitly by the *Diccionario de Autoridades*. The second, unknown to literary sources, has been recorded merely as a dialectalism in Salamanca.<sup>4</sup> The third has been labeled by the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (V, 243a) as a synonym of *peso* and *pesa* pertaining to the "estilo baxo"; it has again been perpetuated, both in a technical and a general sense, in the Salamanca area.<sup>5</sup> *Pesgo* finally has been

<sup>1</sup> *Apesgar* is listed among the words common in Classical Spanish and now antiquated in T. Ximénez de Embasa y Val, *Lengua española en el siglo de oro de su literatura; cambios notables que ha sufrido i diferencias principales que la distinguen de como ahora comúnmente se usa* (Zaragoza, 1897), pp. 38, 84.

<sup>2</sup> It is not discussed in books dealing with incorrect or doubtful present-day usage such as M. de Toro y Gisbert, *Los nuevos derroteros del idioma* (Paris, 1918); M. de Saralegui y Medina, *Escarceos filológicos*, I-IV (Madrid, 1922-1928), and the like.

<sup>3</sup> Information provided by some of the older dictionaries leads us to the assumption that *apesgar* outlived *apesgar* in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. See, for instance, E. de Echegaray, *Diccionario general etimológico*, I-V (Madrid, 1887-1889), and R. Barcia, *Primer diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana*, I-V (Barcelona, 1894). Other dictionaries suggest that the active and the reflexive varieties are equally obsolete; see R. J. Domínguez, *Diccionario nacional*, 13th ed., I-II (Madrid, 1875); J. Caballero, *Diccionario general de la lengua castellana*, 6th ed. (Madrid, 1832).

<sup>4</sup> J. de Lamano y Beneite, *El dialecto vulgar salmantino* (Salamanca, 1915), pp. 236, 406, explains that *apesgar* and *empesgar* are used without distinction, later records a special signification of *empesgar* "revestir con pez el interior de los pellejos y tinajas," and is consequently tempted to suggest the etymology \**impico* (from *pie*).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 372: "La tabla que se pone sobre la masa del queso para que en virtud de la presión que sobre ella se hace suelte el suero; carga, molestia." *Pesga* is unknown to Juan Hidalgo's *Vocabulario de germania*, nor is there a record of it in L. Beses' glossary of modern argot.



OLD SPANISH *NADI(E)*, *OTRI(E)*

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YAKOV MALKIEL

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#18

THE ETYMOLOGY OF HISPANIC *vel(l)ido* AND *melindre*.

YAKOV MALKIEL  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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*HISTORIA DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA.* By RAFAEL LAPESA. Preface by D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. (Colección poesía y verdad, vol. 4). Pp. 358. Madrid & Buenos Aires: Escelicer, S. L., 1942.

The publication of this History of the Spanish Language by one of Spain's younger scholars does not come as a surprise. Since the early thirties, Lapesa

has established his name. After Menéndez Pidal, it is known that the aging scholar is writing the history of the language. It seems that Menéndez Pidal's original plan, so that it might be assumed by him, is preliminary detailed work of this careful preparation is presumably the basis of sound linguistic research credit to its author which Lapesa, continuing loyalty.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this history of the Spanish language occurred in successive economic, demographic, internal history, and syntax, as is found in an introductory work in linguistics and to provide admirably successful general reader, yet professional linguists.

Equal emphasis is given to linguistic research: sentence structure, an ability to embrace the unusual. The cast of the author has not been most arrested in his private interest of the whole. Lapesa have appeared in Spanish inquiries carried on accumulated a sizeable blended the individual treatise, cutting down adding of his own contribution was insufficient.

<sup>1</sup> See RFE 17.169-25.122-4. Lapesa has and has written a study.

<sup>2</sup> See Bull. hisp. 3.

<sup>3</sup> There exists also as a college text: For

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Vol. 2, No. 1, April, 1946

## REVIEWS

ALBERT DAUZAT, *Le génie de la langue française*. Paris, Payot, 1944.  
359 pp.

C'est là un livre conçu pour le grand public et que le spécialiste lira avec profit, un vrai livre à la française, oserai-je dire. Les différents aspects de la langue et du langage y sont exposés d'une façon personnelle, avec simplicité et humour. C'est l'oeuvre d'un linguiste expérimenté et pénétrant pour qui la langue est autre chose qu'une technique et est, en effet, une institution humaine à laquelle rien d'humain n'est étranger.

Les principales divisions de ce travail sont naturellement: la prononciation, le vocabulaire, les formes grammaticales et leurs fonctions, la syntaxe, l'expression littéraire et la conclusion où les différents éléments du français se trouvent rassemblés dans leur essence pour former la synthèse qui est proprement le 'génie de la langue française'. Notons en passant l'heureuse idée de l'auteur d'introduire dans cet exposé l'expression littéraire, de l'intégrer dans le tableau de la langue dont elle est un élément capital, alors que bien des linguistes n'y voient qu'une création artificielle sans rapport avec la vie.

Dans chacun de ces chapitres, M. Dauzat commence par un historique rapide du sujet qu'il traite et qu'ensuite il analyse. A cet égard, je vois que M. Dauzat fait la part plus grande que je ne la ferais à l'influence germanique dans la formation de certains éléments morphologiques ou syntaxiques du français. A priori, je penserais que l'infériorité culturelle et sociale des Germains ne devait pas favoriser une importante action d'ordre intellectuel sur la future langue française. Quoiqu'il en soit, après l'aperçu historique et l'exposé de l'état de la question, M. Dauzat ne manque jamais, du point de vue pratique, de se prononcer sur le bon usage à suivre, car pour lui, une langue n'est pas seulement un sujet d'étude, c'est aussi un usage et comme tel, soumis à une norme comme tous les usages humains. Cette norme est évidemment plus dominatrice en français que dans bien d'autres langues, romanes ou germaniques. C'est là une conséquence de l'histoire du pays, le plus centralisé de l'Europe occidentale.

Les conseils donnés par l'auteur sont marqués au coin du bon sens et de l'expérience de la vie sociale française, aussi éloignée du purisme et du traditionalisme outrancier que du laisser-aller et de la fausse application de l'attitude linguistique qui tend à ne voir dans une langue que des faits tous égaux. Que de détails intéressants et utiles pour les Français et, à plus forte raison, pour les étrangers qui n'ont pas toujours le sens exact de l'usage; tels ceux, pour ne citer que quelques exemples entre bien d'autres, qui se trouvent dans le chapitre sur la prononciation des consonnes doubles en français ou bien ceux sur les liaisons. Le professeur de français sera heureux d'apprendre que Racine a employé le subjonctif présent là où un puriste eût mis (comme je le fais moi-même ici sans y prendre garde) l'horrible imparfait: 'N'avez-vous pas ordonné que tantost on observe mes pas' (Bérénice, IV 6).

L'essai sur la clarté française (génie même du français) envisage cette clarté

sous toutes ses formes, équivoque, d'ailleurs, perçue

C'est là un livre à parler avec justesse et que tout prof

HENRY FRANZ  
de philologie

New York, S.

Since 1923 this is to the development of his lifetime of details on the social problems and their follow the Frankish rural life, when rural one as political life. T monasteries in the of the Merovingian began to enter chapters on this detail is most visible on the development pointing a little emphasis on the Middle Age poor, when read the upper class which more often class versus the

Except for some material (some of the controversy) there is no consistently since The reader is urged of the controversy kept quite inviolate (perhaps earlier)

## THE ETYMOLOGY OF SPANISH *LERDO*

By YAKOV MALKIEL  
University of California

### I. *Earlier Theories*

At least twelve theories on the etymology of Hispanic *lerdo* "dull, slow, lazy" are on record:

(1) An attempt to connect *lerdo* with Gr. *lordós* "bent back" was made by Covarrubias and the compilers of the original Academy Dictionary;<sup>1</sup>

(2) The same sources vaguely indicated the possibility of a borrowing of *lerdo* from Ital. *lordo* "dirty" (only recently has García de Diego pointed out the presence of a *lord-* stem in Galician, which, on the evidence of meaning, may be actually akin to the Italian word);<sup>2</sup>

(3) The possibility of derivation from *lentus* "slow" was not only suggested by Covarrubias, but vigorously supported at a later date by R. Cabrera;<sup>3</sup>

(4) Relationship with *lardo* "bacon," on the basis of arguments which can elicit only a smile from the modern reader, has been tentatively posited by Covarrubias;<sup>4</sup>

(5) Reconstruction of a Basque etymon, attempted before Mon-

<sup>1</sup>Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1673-74), vol. II, fol. 89vo, translates *lordós*: "el que trae la cabeza inclinada hacia el suelo"; in Liddell-Scott's dictionary, the following definition is found: "bent back, so that the spine is convex in front, and the chest thrown forwards."

<sup>2</sup>See V. García de Diego, *Contribución al diccionario hispánico etimológico* (Madrid, 1923), pp. 107-108, quotes Gal. *lorda* "lo que se coge en los ruedos de los vestidos," *enlórdar* "enlodar, ensuciar."

<sup>3</sup>R. Cabrera, *Diccionario de etimologías de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1837), II, 401.

<sup>4</sup>Loc. cit.: "porque los que son gordos son flojos, y siempre están sudando un sudor sucio."

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Castilian *albricias* and Its Ibero-  
Romance Congeners

BY

YAKOV MALKIEL

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THE WORD FAMILY OF OLD SPANISH *RECUDIR*

#2

YAKOV MALKIEL

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#24

# THREE HISPANIC WORD STUDIES

LATIN *macula* IN IBERO-ROMANCE;  
OLD PORTUGUESE *trigar*; HISPANIC *lo(u)cano*

BY

YAKOV MALKIEL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Volume 1, No. 7, pp. 227-296

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EL BABLE DE CABRANES

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YAKOV MALKIEL  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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#26

THE ROMANCE WORD FAMILY OF LATIN AMBĀGŌ

YAKOV MALKIEL

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vague classificatory terms 'hombre del pueblo', 'personas de cierta cultura', 'culto', 'semiculto', 'rústico', and 'campesino'. Such terms are especially without value to everyone who is not intimately acquainted with Argentine culture.

It is indeed unfortunate that the section on phonetics uses only standard Spanish orthography. The traditional assumption that Spanish script adequately represents the phonemes of the language is hardly tenable in a work on dialectology. This implied assumption and the author's lack of interest in the precise description of sounds appear to prompt the somewhat suspicious statement that 'the articulation of the sounds' in the tonada puntana 'is the same as in the other regions of San Luis'. If this is actually so, it is certainly a linguistic phenomenon deserving special attention and thorough substantiation. The value of this section and the one on interjections and clicks might also have been greatly improved by a system of notation for describing intonation.

Attention must be called also to the author's obvious lack of interest in syntax and the manner in which problems of major importance are dismissed. Thus it is astonishing, if true, that in 'the popular speech the names of women always take the article'; surely this statement cannot apply to direct address. To report simply that the future tense is rarely heard, without establishing whether it is actually never required in specific contexts, however rare, leaves the entire problem of time and tense unsolved. A similar report indicating that all three forms of the subjunctive follow *oídla* without distinction, immediately raises the question whether this indicates a regional breakdown in the standard tense system or an inability of the folk to distinguish between the mode of irreality and a normal subjunctive. In treating pronoun subjects in questions, the author tantalizes the syntactician with the observation that *¿Qué van hacer ustedes?* and *¿Ustedes qué van hacer?* show free variation, without any comment upon the possible limitations imposed on this variation by the intonation patterns of standard Spanish. In contrast, it hardly seems worthwhile, in view of the universality of the socio-economic concept of the haves and the have-nots, to report the detail that *tener in Agora ya no tenemos nada, pero hemos sido ricos* means 'to have money or worldly goods'.

The criticism just reported seriously limits the value of *El habla rural de San Luis*, but this limitation should be interpreted cautiously. Sra. de Battini has opened new territory, has accumulated much valuable material, and has made a significant contribution to Hispanic dialectology. The foregoing criticism has not been directed so much at what she has done but at what she has left undone; and that should not be allowed to distort the value of her achievement.

WILLIAM E. BULL, *University of California, Los Angeles*

The Spanish dialect in St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana. By RAYMOND R. MACCURDY. (University of New Mexico Publications in Language and Literature, No. 6.) Pp. 88. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950.

When, by 1838, there appeared for the first time in the streets of New Orleans groups of dark-skinned Spaniards (who called themselves *islenos*) from the sur-

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#28

SPANISH *cosecha* AND ITS CONGENERS

YAKOV MALKIEL  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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# NOTAS

DE LA REVISTA DE FILOLOGÍA HISPÁNICA, AÑO VIII, NÚMS. 1-2

## HUELLA DE LA TRADICIÓN GRECOLATINA EN EL POEMA DE JUAN DE CASTELLANOS

Esta mínima contribución al estudio de América y de la tradición clásica — surgida en un coloquio con don Pedro Henríquez Ureña —, quiere dar testimonio de una perfección suya que, por no poderse atesorar en libros, ya no conocerán los que no alcanzaron a oírle. Me refiero a la exquisita calidad de su conversación, siempre juvenilmente ávida y magistralmente sugestiva, que le convertía en el interlocutor ideal de cada interlocutor.

Recordaba don Pedro Henríquez Ureña, una de las últimas veces que le oí conversar, cómo continuaba todavía en América el pleito, caducado ya en la Península, entre el verso castizo y el verso italianizante (cuyo ritmo no percibían aún el capitán Lorenzo Martín ni el mismo Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, fundador de Bogotá) por los años que Juan de Castellanos compilaba sus pacientes *Eleydos de varones ilustres de Indias*:

el cual [Martín] bebió también en Hipocrene  
aquel sacro licor que manar hizo  
la uña del aligero Pegaso,  
con tan sonora y abundante vena,  
que nunca yo vi cosa semejante,  
según antiguos modos de españoles <sup>4</sup>,  
porque composición italiana,  
hurtada de los metros que se dicen  
endecasílabos entre latinos,  
aún no corría por agustas partes;  
antes cuando leía los poemas  
vestidos desta nueva compostura  
dejaban tan mal són en sus oídos,  
que juzgaba ser prosa que tenía  
al beneplácito las consonancias  
.....

<sup>4</sup> Estas mismas gentes que prefieren los metros breves de los romances y canciones viejas son las que, para la poesía grave, aún cultivan la estrofa prestigiada por Juan de Mena: así lo demuestra el más antiguo poema, anónimo, sobre la conquista del Perú, escrito hacia 1548 en sus coplas de arte mayor. V. PEDRO HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA, *Literary Currents in Hispanic America*. Harvard University Press, 1946, págs. 52-53.

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#30

# Hispano-Arabic *marrano* and its Hispano-Latin Homophone

BY

YAKOV MALKIEL

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#31

ON ANALYZING HISPANO-MAYA BLENDS

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## THE WORD FAMILY OF SPANISH *DESMORONAR*, PORTUGUESE *ESB(O)ROAR* "CRUMBLE"

YAKOV MALKIEL

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## REVIEWS

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It must be left to the technical psychoanalysts to decide about what is right and wrong in Pfandl's interpretation of the work and personality of Sor Juana. The literary historian is interested in two points of his. First, Pfandl solves better than his predecessors Juana's first pseudoconversion from the world to the cloister and her second real conversion from a pseudospiritual life into a real spiritual life. Second, with his psychoanalytical key he opens much better than other scholars the poetry of the Mexican nun as a whole. For from the absence or presence of her vital, unconscious sexual symbols he gets a criterion for her true style (*Dichtung*) and her mannerism (*Dichtelei*). This seems to me the greatest merit of the book (pp. 225-227).

On the other hand, Pfandl entangles himself in a maze of complexities, exposed as he was to the fresh impression of his readings in Freud, Jung and Adler. Sor Juana Inés, besides everything said above, still is supposed to have a particular Oedipus-complex and is looking desperately for father-images. Therefore she has a particular worship for Saint Joseph. But, if we look up Sor Juana Inés' poem from which this strange deduction is made (p. 109), it proves to be a harmless baroque play with *conceptos*, which could come as well from Ledesma or Quevedo. Her former friend, the Marquesa de Mancera, reciprocated Sor Juana's courtesies by publishing in Madrid (1689) her works as *Inundación Castálida de la única poetisa, musa décima*. This might have brought her "Self-transfiguration" to a peak. But for the *Sueño* and the *Narciso* Pfandl's interpretations seem absolutely certain and he has discovered the central root from which Sor Juana Inés' poetry has sprung.

In spite of many exaggerations a certain part of truth seems to have been revealed by Pfandl's interpretation also in relation to late Spanish baroque as a highly pathological epoch. Its mass pathology explains the individual case of Sor Juana Inés to a high degree. Pfandl's analysis arouses pity and understanding for this gifted nun, but deprives her of her alleged ingenuity and reduces her poetical qualities to a minimum. Even if one rejects Pfandl's reason for the poetical limits of Sor Juana Inés, namely her "neurotic determination," as her only source and resource of poetry, Pfandl certainly has seen her limits, whatever may be the reason for them, very clearly and thus has determined the place and rank due to this Sister in literary history. This point was obscured hitherto by Mexican nationalism and the slogan of the "décima Musa," which on the title page of the *editio princeps* was simply a courteous repetition of a catchword once invented by Lope de Vega for Marcia Leonarda in 1624. Pfandl's notes and appendices are overrich in such historical and psychological information. The encyclopedical trend has been characteristic for Pfandl from his first publications such as *Spanische Kultur und Sitte* up to the hour when his "Seele flog nach Haus," to use the expression Pfandl applied to the death of Sor Juana.

HELMUT A. HATZFELD

Catholic University



## The Etymology of Hispanic *restolho, rastrojo, rostoll*

YAKOV MALKIEL

### I. EARLIER THEORIES

SPANISH *rastrojo*, "stubble,"<sup>1</sup> corresponding to *restolho* and, less frequently, *rastolho* in Portuguese,<sup>2</sup> to *rastrallo* in Galician,<sup>3</sup> and to *rostoll* in Catalan,<sup>4</sup> is a word of limited circulation in the literary idiom<sup>5</sup> and one that has given rise only to few set phrases.<sup>6</sup> Conversely, it is represented abundantly in the various forms of rural speech.<sup>7</sup>

Some etymologists, including Cabrera<sup>8</sup> and Diez,<sup>9</sup> could afford to neglect it altogether in their dictionaries. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* likened it to *AGER RESTILIS*, which, without being so specified, looks like a reconstructed form. Previously, Covarrubias had connected *rastrojo* with *rastra*, "trace,"<sup>10</sup> an explanation accepted by Monlau,<sup>11</sup> Barcia,<sup>12</sup> Morel-Fatio (implicitly),<sup>13</sup> Baist,<sup>14</sup> and Richardson.<sup>15</sup> Kuhn modified this theory slightly by assuming a blend of *RÄSTRUM* with its diminutive *RÄSTELLUM*, a hypothesis not sufficiently substantiated to carry conviction.<sup>16</sup>

Another school of thought regards the variant *restrojo* as the basic form in preference to *rastrojo* and, classing the medial *-r-* as epenthetic, retraces the word to Lat. *RESTĀRE*, "to remain."<sup>17</sup> Adherents of this explanation include Coelho,<sup>18</sup> Meyer-Lübke (in his early works),<sup>19</sup> Alemany Bolufer,<sup>20</sup> Pagés,<sup>21</sup> Fernández Llera,<sup>22</sup> Menéndez Pidal,<sup>23</sup> and Wagner.<sup>24</sup> It is also endorsed by the compilers of recent editions of the Academy Dictionary.<sup>25</sup>

Echegaray listed *RÄSTRUM* and *RESTĀRE* as alternative bases.<sup>26</sup> Cejaador y Frauca formulated his explanation similarly.<sup>27</sup> Caldas Aulete connected *rastolho* with *rasto* and *restolho* with *resto*.<sup>28</sup> Aguado had no comment on *rastrojo*, while tentatively connecting *restrojo* with *RESTĀRE*.<sup>29</sup> Körting,<sup>30</sup> Leite de Vasconcelos,<sup>31</sup> and García de Diego assumed the merging of *RÄSTRUM* with *RESTĀRE*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All footnotes at the end of this article.

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MISCELÂNEA  
DE FILOGIA, LITERATURA  
E HISTÓRIA CULTURAL

À MEMÓRIA DE  
FRANCISCO ADOLFO COELHO  
(1847-1919)

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YAKOV MAEKIEL  
LATIN *I*ACTARE, *DE*IECTARE AND  
AND *E*IECTARE IN IBERO-ROMANCE

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CENTRO DE ESTUDOS FILOLÓGICOS  
TRAVESSA DO ARCO A JESUS, 13  
LISBOA  
1949

# HISPANIC REVIEW

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## OLD SPANISH ASSECHAR AND ITS VARIANTS

### I. The Problem

THE reduction, by Captain John Stevens<sup>1</sup> (followed, to some extent, by Pedro Pineda<sup>2</sup>) and later, perhaps independently, by Cabrera,<sup>3</sup> of Sp. *acechar* "to peep curiously from a hidden place" to Lat. *assectāri* "to follow tacitly" and its identification, by Diez<sup>4</sup> and Cuervo,<sup>5</sup> with OSp. *assechar* and OPtg. *asseitar* have been accepted by numerous earlier philologists, including Monlau,<sup>6</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Captain John Stevens, *A New Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*, London, 1726: *acechar* "to watch, to pry, to peep into others' actions. From the Latin *sector* 'to follow.'"

<sup>2</sup> In his Spanish-English dictionary (London, 1740), Pineda developed *acechar* from *seguir*.

<sup>3</sup> R. Cabrera, *Diccionario de etimologías de la lengua castellana*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1837, I, 261.

<sup>4</sup> F. Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1853, p. 450; 5th ed., Bonn, 1887, p. 413 (there are no addenda by A. Scheler in the appended supplement).

<sup>5</sup> R. J. Cuervo, *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana*, 2 vols., Paris, 1886-1893, I, 100-101: "*Acechar* y *asechar* son formas divergentes de un solo tipo latino *assectāri* 'seguir constantemente,' el cual se tomaba ya en mala parte en la decadencia; de aquí mismo el port. *asseitar*. La conexión en el sentido es obvia: de 'seguir,' 'perseguir,' se viene a *asechar*; y de aquí a 'mirar con curiosidad desde paraje oculto,' como que ésta es una de las circunstancias que acompañan la asechanza. La distinción de las dos aplicaciones mediante formas diferentes no data de los primeros tiempos de la lengua; usábanse indistintamente las dos ortografías para una y otra acepción."

<sup>6</sup> F. F. Monlau, *Diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Buenos Aires, 1941, pp. 230, 365; this is a reprint of the edition of 1881 (the first edition appeared in 1856). P<sup>a</sup> Sarmiento connected *asechar* with *ascela*, see BRAE, 1923, XV, 26.

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF SPANISH *ASPERIEGA*, *ESPERIEGA*

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#38

ITALIAN *ciarlatano* AND ITS ROMANCE OFFSHOOTS

YAKOV MALKIEL  
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#39

Romance Descendants of Latin  
*Nocturnus, Nocturnālis*

BY

YAKOV MALKIEL

[Reprinted from *Studies in Philology*, XLVI, 4, October, 1949.]



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#40

The Ancient Hispanic Verbs  
*posfaçar, porfaçar, profaçar*

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## Reviews

*Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Jeremiah Denis Matthias Ford, Smith Professor of French and Spanish Literature, Emeritus.* Edited by Urban T. Holmes, Jr. and Alex. J. Denomy, C. S. B. Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1948. Pp. xxxii + 376

Since 1896 Professor J. D. M. Ford has produced a constant stream of books, articles, and reviews which range over the entire mediæval Romance field and into Germanic languages and literatures. Some of these books have long been used in Spanish and Portuguese classes.<sup>1</sup> Important as they are, however, perhaps more so still was the influence he exerted for nearly a half century on scholars who went to Harvard University to study with him Romance Philology and Literature.

A number of these friends and former students (most of them previous contributors to various homage volumes) have contributed in Professor Ford's honor one of the most important *Festschriften* appearing in recent years. Contributions from four foreign scholars, from eight now at Harvard, and from nine scattered in other universities throughout the United States form a total of 21 articles which have been excellently edited by Professor Holmes and Father Denomy. I have noticed only five printing errors (all of them very minor) in the volume.<sup>2</sup> A photograph of Professor Ford, his *vita*, and a bibliography of his works are included.<sup>3</sup>

The titles of some of the articles indicate adequately their contents. But in view of the increasingly large number of *Festschriften*, it may be of service to the reader to have a brief summary of each article, together with such remarks as may seem pertinent.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 211 of the volume reviewed here.

<sup>2</sup> P. 5 read *squelette* for *squalette*; in the legend under the facsimile opposite p. 56, read *TUT* for *TUZ*; p. 225 the indication for note 2 is lacking—perhaps it should come after Cosenti; p. 235 (note 16), circumflex instead of tilde in *fâcheux*; p. 313 read *Prudentius* for *Prudentius*.

<sup>3</sup> The editors have inadvertently omitted, it seems, one of his publications: "The Accent in Diphthongs Created by the 'Breaking' of a Simple Stressed Vowel" in *Mélanges de philologie offerts à Jean-Jacques Sarrasin de Grave*... (Groningen, 1933), pp. 104-105.

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LEXICAL NOTES ON THE WESTERN LEONESE DIALECT OF  
LA CABRERA ALTA

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**Laryngeal before sonant.** By L. L. HAMMERICH. (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser, Vol. 31, No. 3.) Pp. 90. København: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1948.

Hammerich is professor of Germanic Philology in the University of Copenhagen. He is the successor of Hermann Möller, whose work on the relationship between Indo-European and Semitic spans the gap between Ferdinand de Saussure and Jerzy Kurylowicz. Möller's last important work, *Die semitisch-vorindogermanischen laryngalen Konsonanten*, was published in 1917, ten years before Kurylowicz's epoch-making discovery that one of the laryngeals is preserved in Hittite. One might wish that Hammerich had followed more closely in the footsteps of his great predecessor.

What we have here, it is not easy to say. I cannot even define precisely the two technical terms in the title of the book. The first one may have been taken from my book on the Indo-Hittite laryngeals (1942); but the author certainly does not confine himself to the use of it which I describe there (15), as a substitute for Kurylowicz's phrase *lost consonants*. In the passage quoted below (3 f.), *laryngeal* seems to designate a definite, but nowhere defined, class of sounds.

It is generally agreed that the early IE languages, as we know them, do not display any laryngeal sounds.

In a sonant function the IE laryngeal phoneme is everywhere materialized as an ordinary vowel; in a consonantal function it has only been preserved in Hittite... not as a laryngeal, but as a velar spirant, originally voiced, but voiceless in Hittite (*h*), whereas in the other IE languages the laryngeal consonant has mostly disappeared, thereby lengthening a preceding vowel.

... it is not perhaps unprofitable to take into consideration a group of IE languages which all possess one laryngeal phoneme, viz. the Teutonic languages. Even if the IE laryngeal sound was by no means identical with the voiceless *h* of Teutonic, the manifestations of the Teutonic laryngeal phoneme may nevertheless be illustrative.

The last two sentences quoted give us a clear indication that the voiceless *h* of the Teutonic languages is a laryngeal phoneme, although different from the one possessed by Proto-Indo-European. Then what becomes of the first statement quoted, to the effect that the early IE languages had no 'laryngeal sounds'? Surely Avestan *h* from initial *s*, the Greek rough breathing, and Latin *h* were all similar to the *h* of Modern English and German at some periods in their history.

In the second sentence quoted above occurs the third word of the title. One of the functions of the IE laryngeal is 'a sonant function'; and such a laryngeal becomes (?) a vowel in the historical languages. I am, however, forced to the conclusion that Hammerich meant here 'vocalic' or 'syllabic' rather than 'sonant';

elsewhere in the *n, r*. For some language belong may not have understood, he s to Laryngeal be Peculiarly an between spiritus on p. 30:

The spiritus le having been split lenis, without pho

The only error was not split un in Eastern Ionic Then (near the *h*. Aristophanes mark absence of not become reg A.D.

If Hammerich stop where med tell us what it is failed to employ ment on p. 32 u quoted is by no Hammerich's but I can find n

<sup>1</sup> The early hist lently treated by 34 (1928). I summs fostered by Semiti a phonetic value, i

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<sup>1</sup> I have first-hs  
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#44

STUDIES IN THE HISPANIC INFIX -eg-

YAKOV MALKIEL

*University of California*

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*Estudios de fonología española.* By Tomás Navarro. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, N. Y., 1946: 220 pages.

When interest in structural phonetics (which Americans call *phonemics* and Spaniards, with the rest of the Europeans, prefer to designate as *fonología*) became pronounced in the early thirties, most Romance scholars of mature age adopted an attitude of indifference or even antagonism toward the new approach. In a noteworthy exchange of open letters with the young phoneticist, André Martinet, the distinguished representative of traditional ("paleophonetic") studies, Maurice Grammont, courteously stated the reasons for his aloofness. Yet Sr. Tomás Navarro, who had devoted much time and effort to the promotion of experimental phonetics in Spain, refused to share this skepticism. The turmoil of the Civil War, in 1938, did not prevent him from contributing, with a note however succinct, to the miscellany of articles dedicated to the memory of Prince N. S. Trubetzkoy, who, with Edward Sapir in this country, is widely regarded as the initiator and guiding spirit of the structuralist school.

A number of Sr. Navarro's articles written in subsequent years and now in part revised, dealing directly with phonemic problems or else involving certain principles of phonemic approach, all of them preeminently based on the written (and recited) rather than on the spontaneously uttered word, are now edited, jointly with a few brief essays previously unpublished, in a new book, as handsomely printed as it is tastefully written, addressed to the cultured layman and the student of Spanish civilization rather than to the specialized fellow-worker in the field of phonetic disciplines.

In America and in Europe structural studies have taken a rather different course, as a result not only of the diverse mentalities of the leading scholars, but also of the qualities and limitations of the linguistic material examined. American anthropologists, chiefly interested in primitive culture, developed a special skill for rapidly, yet accurately recording texts in unexplored languages from which they subsequently learned to develop grammatical sketches and dictionaries. The main emphasis is placed by this school on the ability to record the unknown language, from the lips of the untutored native speaker, first impressionistically (in phonetic script), and then to break down the wide range of unclassified sounds observed into a limited number of relevant units (phonemes) and their positional variants (allophones). After that operation, central to the entire analysis, the texts are rewritten in phonemic

## VARIA

## THE CONTRAST TOMÁIS ~ TOMÁVADES, QUÉRÉIS ~ QUÉRÍADES IN CLASSICAL SPANISH

There exists a penetrating article by Cuervo on the development of the verbal endings of the second person plural in Spanish,<sup>1</sup> supplemented by a few data in Gassner's monograph on the Old Spanish verb<sup>2</sup> and by several bits of information, in the historical grammars of Menéndez Pidal and of Hansen, on the state of affairs in dialects.<sup>3</sup> One particularly significant phase of the evolution has not yet been adequately accounted for: the lag of the pro-paroxytonic forms, such as *queríades*, *quisírades*, *quisísedes*, *quisíredes*, *queríades*, behind the paroxytonic forms *queredes* and *querades*, in allowing for the substitution of *-es*, *-is* for ancient *-des* < Lat. *-tis*. This chronological difference of approximately two hundred years (ca. 1400-ca. 1600), peculiar to the literary idiom of Castile, has been noticed by some workers<sup>4</sup> and omitted from discussion by others,<sup>5</sup> yet seems to have been left unexplained by all those who applied traditional methods of analysis to this special case.

<sup>1</sup> R. J. Cuervo, "Las segundas personas de plural en la conjugación castellana," *Romania*, 1893, XXII, 71-86.

<sup>2</sup> A. Gassner, *Das altspanische Verbum* (Halle, 1897), pp. 71-72, 83, 140. A rather casual statement on the disappearance of *-d-* from *-des*, without regard for the contrast here studied, has been made by D. Alonso in a review of W. von Wartburg's writings; see *RFE*, 1937-1940, XXIV, 393-394.

<sup>3</sup> R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática histórica española*, 6th ed. (Madrid, 1941), pp. 280-281; F. Hansen, *Spanische Grammatik auf historischer Grundlage* (Halle, 1910), pp. 65-66, and *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana* (Halle, 1913), pp. 94-95. On the archaic graphs (and conceivably the underlying pronunciations) *-tis*, *-dis* (A. D. 971, 989, 1009, 1030), *-des* (from A. D. 1021) in Old Leonese and Old Portuguese charters, see R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español*, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1929), p. 371.

<sup>4</sup> On the contrast between the traditional literary forms in *-des* and the corresponding colloquial forms in *-is*, see the apt observations by Gregorio García, *Fundamento del vigor y elegancia de la lengua castellana*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1791), II, 171. In addition to the writers previously listed, consult V. García de Diego, *Elementos de gramática histórica castellana* (Burgos, 1914), p. 141; R. K. Spaulding, *How Spanish Grew* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943), pp. 108-109 (the alternate interpretation of the shift *-des* > *-ais* as a deliberate regression to Latin usage is hardly tenable); R. Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española* (Madrid, 1942), pp. 137, 143, 195, 236, 248.

<sup>5</sup> Simplified descriptions of the phenomenon, without sufficient regard for essential chronological divisions, are found in F. Diez's and W. Meyer-Lübke's comparative Romance grammars as well as in most manuals of Spanish historical grammar, including Baist's, Gorra's, Ford's, Padilla's, and Zauner's. There is

Surely a person interested in minor details of the Chilean conquest should learn Spanish. Who profits from turning bad rimed octaves into mediocre blank verse?

University of California

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY

*Proverbios morales*, de Santob de Carrión. Edited with an Introduction by Ig. González Llubera. Cambridge University Press, 1947: xii + 164 pages, 4 plates.

Roughly one century after the earliest publication of the foremost Old Judaeo-Spanish poetic text in the third volume of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (one might add: a century of almost complete neglect and laxness on the part of editors, textual critics, literary historians, and students of linguistics), Professor González Llubera presents us with the first fruits of his hard labor of love extending over a period of at least fifteen years: a fine critical edition of Rabí Santob de Carrión's *Proverbios morales*, prepared for specialists and laymen alike and preceded by a densely written and compactly printed introduction of sixty pages. Other portions of his ambitious and well-planned research project, including a running commentary to the text and a much needed glossary, are at an advanced stage of writing, if not actually nearing completion, while the diplomatic edition of the particularly valuable Cambridge manuscript, in the form of a meticulous transcription of the *ajamado* text into Latin characters (with a generous share of diacritic marks and superscript letters), accompanied by a separate introduction and a long series of pertinent palaeographic observations, will appear on the pages of the American journal *Romance Philology*, to the great satisfaction of its editors and readers.

The gnomic verses of Santob, known to early Hispanists through the eulogy tributed to them by Santillana, were heretofore accessible in the printed reproductions of MS M (Biblioteca Nacional, MS 9216, fols. 61-81<sup>vs</sup>) by Ticknor and of MS E (Biblioteca Escorialense, MS b.iv.21, fols. 1-86) by Janer, in *BAE*, vol. LVII. The chief difficulty in dealing with the text, inherently one of the least transparent pieces of medieval sapiential literature in Spain, was caused by the wide discrepancies between these two versions (very distant derivatives from the original, as Sr. González Llubera convincingly points out), which, to boot, had not and could not have been published, toward the middle of the nineteenth century, with remotely the same degree of accuracy as is rightly expected of a present day editor.

In 1932 the late Herbert J. Loewe, Cambridge's expert in Rabbinic literature, drew the attention of Sr. González Llubera, at that time chiefly concerned with Judaeo-Catalan, to the long ignored MS Add. 3355 in the Cambridge University Library. That manuscript, containing two Old Spanish poems in Hebrew characters generally unpointed



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## THE ETYMOLOGY OF HISPANIC *TERCO*

YAKOV MALKIEL

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OLD SPANISH FAZAÑA, PA(S)TRAÑA, AND PAST(R)IJA  
(Concluded)

IV. Earlier Theories on the Origin of pa(s)traña

Etymologists are singularly reticent on the ancestry of *pa(s)-traña*. The latest (sixteenth) edition of the Academy Dictionary provides no explanation whatsoever, nor does S. Gili Gaya in *Voz. Covarrubias*, with his usual naïveté, associated *patraña* either with Lat. *pater* (because of the transmission of such fabulous stories from generation to generation) or else with Lat. *paträre*,<sup>75</sup> which he erroneously interpreted as having meant "to invent, to shape,"<sup>76</sup> with the idea of creative process serving as the point of analogy.<sup>76</sup> The two hypotheses were restated by the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (V, 165) and by Roque Barcia (IV, 130a); only the second alternative was accepted by Echegaray and by the three compilers of the *Diccionario enciclopédico*.<sup>78</sup> Monlau mentioned Covarrubias' tentative solutions, only to reject them, and suggested *patarata* as an allegedly more fitting base.<sup>77</sup> Diez traced the word ultimately to *pato*, *pata* "goose";<sup>78</sup> as usual, he found a supporter in Coelho.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Parte segunda del Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (2nd ed.), fol. 135 vo: "Es cuento fabuloso para entretenir. Dixose a patribus, porque son cuentos oídos de padres a hijos para entretenerse . . . del verbo *patrare*, que vale 'inventar' o 'hacer', por ser invención hecha y compuesta fabulosamente."

<sup>76</sup> The actual meaning was "to complete, to achieve, to conclude"; see Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (2nd ed.), Paris, 1939, pp. 741-742.

<sup>77</sup> Alemany Bolufer's dictionary defines *patraña* thus: "mentira o noticia fabulosa, de pura invención toda." Here are some ancient translations. A. Sánchez de la Ballesta: *habilla o patraña* (p. 320) and *patraña de viejas* "fabula" (p. 496); Percivale-Minshew: "old fables or stories, old wives tales, leasings, lies;" C. Oudin: "contes frivoles, fables, fatras, bourdes;" L. Franciosini: "favola, cosa da raccontare per trattenimento;" A. de La Porte: "onnutten clap;" F. Sobriero: "contes, fables, mensonge." As a literary genre intermediary between the *cuento* and the *novela*, the *patraña* has been carefully delimited by F. Ruiz Morcuende in his introduction to Juan de Timonedá, *El patrañuelo*, Madrid, 1930, p. xxvii.

<sup>78</sup> E. de Echegaray, *Diccionario general etimológico*, vol. IV, p. 725; E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gómez, and E. Isasa, *Diccionario enciclopédico de la lengua castellana* (5th ed.), II, 488a.

<sup>79</sup> Monlau, *Diccionario etimológico*, Buenos Aires, 1941, p. 921.

<sup>76</sup> F. Dias, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1853, p. 519: "Für ["] *patarrana* vom gleichbedeutenden cat. *patarra*, dies wohl von *pata* 'gans' ('gänsegeschichte')." This theory is repeated in the 5th ed., Bonn

Among other explorations (Lat. *patre*, Cortesão Spanish), while Nasé reference to the word classed it as one of o

A point of consideration so far advanced forms of *patraña*. (C occurs repeatedly in *Corbacho*. Of the *amor*, Aguado regarded hesitatingly labeled Frauca considered Toledo also used a L. B. Simpson's edition of this reading (yet, have emended the *patraña*, in keeping with do analogous cases in that text,<sup>84</sup> but *past-* and *pest-* can neck, spot behind

1887, p. 475, where OS etymological reconstruction

<sup>75</sup> F. A. Coelho, *Dici* to me, here quoted after

<sup>76</sup> J. Ribeiro, *Frases Subsidiárias para um dicionário etimológico*, p

<sup>77</sup> J. Alemany Bolufellana, Madrid, 1920, p

<sup>78</sup> J. M. Aguado, *G* Madrid, 1929, p. 503.

<sup>79</sup> H. B. Richardson, *Juan Ruiz*, New Haven

<sup>80</sup> J. Ruiz, *Libro de* 1913, I, 31.

<sup>81</sup> See *MLR*, 1941, 2

<sup>82</sup> *Enselmo* instead of by A. Steiger, "Contri" 1923, X, 163.

<sup>83</sup> *Pastorejo* was the of Percivale-Minshew a 1867, pp. 25 and 139. see *RPh.*, 1949-50, III,

THE JEWISH HERITAGE OF SPAIN.  
(ON THE OCCASION OF AMÉRICO CASTRO'S ESPAÑA  
EN SU HISTORIA)\*

IN addition to the famous Hispanic *maurofilia* ably described by Georges Cirot in one of his last essays, there has existed in Spain and in Portugal, over a shorter period of time and a bit less vigorous in its manifestations, a partly nostalgic, partly remorseful preoccupation with the Peninsula's Jewish heritage, centuries after its deliberate destruction, thoughtless and wanton squandering, or else secret submersion. This partiality, traceable to A. Herculanio's and J. Amador de los Ríos' predominantly romantic accounts of the rise and fall of the Sephardim, is either overtly in evidence or perceptible as a subtle overtone in a great many works of art and learning alike, written at various levels, for different purposes, and addressed to sharply divergent groups of readers: from Menéndez Pidal's *romancero* studies and some of Unamuno's most sparkling pages all the way down to Blasco Ibáñez' *Luna Benamor*. Yet at no time, perhaps, has the rôle played by Jews in the shaping of Spain's history been assessed quite so highly by a mature and experienced scholar, never has the impact of the precipitate political, economic, and cultural infiltration of countless converts into Spain's national body and of the equally violent enforced secession of Jews faithful to their religion from a millennial symbiosis with Christians received so warm an attention as in Américo Castro's new book *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos*, the fruit of a decade of meditation.

Sr. Castro's book is based throughout on existentialist philosophy. He is explicit in disclaiming any dominant interest, this time, as a culture historian or a literary critic, much as those preoccupations may have colored his earlier writings. Ancient Hispanic literature, fine arts, theology, military exploits, political stratagems, trivial human reactions in everyday happenings are all analyzed as multifarious manifestations of a single fundamental attitude in, or toward, life. This fixed pattern of behavior is believed to have crystallized as a result of the course which distant ancestors of Spaniards have decided to steer in the face of one of the greatest catastrophes in world history: the collapse of the Visigothic king-

\* See *HR*, 1950, XVIII, 184.

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#51

THE HYPOTHETICAL BASE IN ROMANCE ETYMOLOGY

YAKOV MALKIEL

Reprinted from *Word*  
Vol. 6, No. 1, April, 1950

*Made in United States of America*

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YAKOV MALKIEL

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#53

# The Latin Background of the Spanish Suffix *-uno*

Studies in the Genesis of a Romance Formative

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*University of California*

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*Made in United States of America*

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(April, 1950)]

## THE ETYMOLOGY OF HISPANIC *DESTROÇAR* AND *TROÇO*

By YAKOV MALKIEL  
University of California

### I. Introduction

In recent etymological research it has become apparent that fresh avenues of approach can, upon occasion, be opened by challenging the commonly accepted derivational hierarchy within a given word-family. What, by general consensus, is classed as a primitive at present, may, upon closer inspection, turn out to represent the derivative in the historical perspective, and viceversa. The origin of Sp. *destrozar* (OSp. Ptg. *destroçar*) 'to shatter, to break to pieces' and of Sp. *trozo* (Ptg. *troço*) 'piece, chunk' is here discussed at some length to drive home this point. The inquiry derives its chief interest from the fact that generations of scholars, starting from different premises, came close to discovering what is here considered as the truth, yet either went astray or did not marshal sufficient evidence to buttress their intuitively grasped solutions of the problem. In part, they focused their attention on individual formations arbitrarily selected from among members of a single word-family closely knit together, thus disconnecting parts of an organic whole; in part they failed to define the environment in which the chosen words and their cognates have arisen. We shall first present the assembled material on the entire word-family, which will allow the reader to recognize its characteristic configuration; then, the explanations so far furnished will be passed in review and their merits assessed on the basis of previously established facts. The combined study of the record of the word-family and of the reconstructions of its prehistory by earlier explorers will, it is hoped, yield the solution of the much-belabored problem.

### II. The Configuration of the Entire Word-Family

By way of anticipation, it may be mentioned that the words under study, of wide currency in late classical and in present-day Spanish, are absent from a great many Old Spanish texts consulted to the end of determining the date of their rise.<sup>1</sup> In the case of

# SOME NAMES OF THE BAT IN IBERO-ROMANCE (Concluded)

## VII. THE VARIANT FORMS OF OLD SPANISH *murciego*

There exist astonishingly few derivatives from OSp. *murciego*, Ptg. *morcego*, and their congeners: Centr. Arg. *murciega* and Sp. *murciélaga* refer to the female;<sup>109</sup> the adjective *morcegal* may well be a nonce in Portuguese literature, while *morcegar* "to jump on, or get off, a train or streetcar in motion" seems to be limited to the local slang of Pernambuco.<sup>110</sup> The collective *murciélaguina* "sort of guano" (a deposit left by bats in caves) has been recorded in Puerto Rico.<sup>111</sup> *Murci(a)lero*, *murciagallero* "house-breaker" are proper to cant.<sup>112</sup>

By way of contrast, there is a substantial number of variant forms of *murciég(al)o*, whose classification represents the core of

<sup>109</sup> B. E. Vidal de Battini, *El habla rural de San Luis: fonética, morfología, sintaxis*, Buenos Aires, 1949, p. 67: *murciega*; F. Ruiz Morcuende, *Vocabulario de D. Leandro Fernández de Moratín*, Madrid, 1945, p. 1039b: *murciélaga*.

<sup>110</sup> On both words, see C. de Figueiredo, *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa* (6th ed.), II, 384a. The adjective is quoted from J. A. de Macedo, *Os burros* (1812), p. 315.

<sup>111</sup> A. Malaret, *Diccionario de provincialismos de Puerto Rico*, San Juan, 1917, p. 110. Omitted from subsequent compilations of the author.

<sup>112</sup> On this word family, see Juan Hidalgo's *Vocabulario de germanía*, of which the latest reprint is found in J. M. Hill, *Poetas germanescos*, Bloomington, 1945, p. 118. Numerous quotations from roguish poems are excerpted by the *Diccionario de autoridades*, IV, 633b, and by A. de Pagés, *Gran diccionario*, III, 865b-866a. *Murciagallero* is thus defined: "es el ladrón que desasaze la ropa que otros ladrones hurtan, o porque hurtan a prima noche se llaman *murciagalleros*"; example: "Lobalán en los verdosos, *murciagallero* en el garo, polinche de manibajas, guifaron en lo guisado." *Murcio* "thief" has been derived through apocope, radically applied in cant: "Agora verás tu mundo/como la tala mi corte, / y a tu *murcio* a mis estivos/si el claro no lo socorre." It was used by Cervantes in *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, see *Clds. cast.*, XXVII, p. 163, with a pun on *Murcia*. The corresponding verb *murciar* is extant not only in the *romancero* composed after the *germanía* fashion: "Un birloche cordobés/que de lo *murciado*, por temor de algún descuerno/lleva el navio artillado," but also in Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares*: "Los días passados dieron tres ansias a un quatrero que había *murciado* dos roznos"; see *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *Clds. cast.*, XXVII, p. 167. *Murciador* is a name of agent newly developed from the verb: "Y todos los *murciadores*/de cerda y de calabaza, /boladores y salterios, /y oficiales de tenaza, /gariteros y poleos/aquí tienen su posada." *Murciagero* is a syncopated variant of *murciagallero*: "ladrón que hurta a los que están durmiendo." The *-u-* of the variant *murciagallero* calls to mind Don Juan Manuel's *morciélagu*, which involves further metathesis; is a pun on *gallo* intended? L. Beseses, *op. cit.*, p. 111a, lists *murcia* "arms"; a cognate?



GRAECO-LATIN "IŪDAEUS" AND "IŪDAICUS"  
IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES

With Special Reference to Ibero-Romance

BY  
YAKOV MALKIEL

I. THE WORD-FAMILY OF HEBREW Y'hūdā IN GREEK AND LATIN

THERE existed in the onomasticon of Biblical Hebrew the formation Y'hūdā, designating a person, a tribe, a nation centering around that tribe, and the corresponding land. Derivatives from that word included Y'hūdī 'Jew, Jewish,'<sup>1</sup> Y'hūdīt 'name of a woman' (cf. *Judith*), and, used adverbially, 'in the Jewish (that is, Hebrew) language'; finally, a distinctly late verb, of which only the participle of the reflexive voice is recorded in a single passage of the book of Esther (8:17): mityah'dīm 'siding with Jews, becoming converted to Judaism.'<sup>2</sup>

From Hebrew, the word-family penetrated into Greek κοινῇ, largely through the efforts of Greek-speaking Jews in Alexandria; in the course of this process it underwent significant modifications; in particular, the original endings were consistently replaced by suffixes that enjoyed wide currency in Greek. The name of the country, in its new garb, became ἡ Ἰουδαία; 'Ἰουδαῖος 'Jew' was developed on the analogy of Ἀθηναῖος,θηβαῖος; 'Ἰουδαία, aside from denoting the territory, became the expression for 'Jewess,' in sharp contrast to the state of affairs in Hebrew. The standard adjective was Ἰουδαϊκός, -ή, -ον, with no equivalent in the language of origin; the corresponding adverb ('in the Jewish manner') was Ἰουδαϊκῶς, a further innovation. The late Hebrew reflexive verb was transformed into Ἰουδαΐω; rarer derivatives included Ἰουδαΐσμός 'Jewish faith or doctrine' and the peculiarly Greek adverb Ἰουδαῖοι 'in the Hebrew tongue.'<sup>3</sup>

The structure which this word-family acquired in Greek persisted in most Occidental languages as a result of the faithfulness with which it was adopted by Latin from the days of Cicero on. Naturalists like Pliny, observers of the contemporary scene like Horace and Juvenal, historians and biographers like Tacitus and Suetonius, Jerome as the translator of the Scripture, Tertullian and Augustine at the head of many early Christian theologians, all had recourse to the word-family of IŪDAEA, IŪDAEUS, IŪDAICUS (with the variants IŪDAECUS and IŪDIACUS, the latter modeled on AEGYPTIACUS, SYRIACUS), IŪDAICE, IŪDAISMUS, and IŪDAIZŌ (also IŪDAEIDIO).<sup>4</sup> The one point of direct

<sup>1</sup> See W. Gesenius and F. Brown, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Boston, 1906), p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> In the transliteration of Hebrew words, spirantized stops appear in italics.

<sup>3</sup> This information is based on the new edition of Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1940), I, p. 832b.

<sup>4</sup> Only a parsimonious selection of examples can here be offered. After Horace (*curtis Iudeis*), it would seem that Tacitus, Juvenal, and Justinus were among the first to refer by this word to the nation; Juvenal singled out a Jewess as IŪDAEA. For full documentation, see the dictionaries of Georges and Harper; De Vit's revision of Forcellini's thesaurus (I, p.

a Spanish-American poet seeks to create a new literary school, he resorts directly to French sources?" (P. 118.)

Still other statements taken at random call for comment. There will be surprise over what seems to be the author's claim to priority in the use of the term "mester de gaucheria" (p. 90). Certainly not all critics will agree that Bello's "La oración por todos" is "of pure French sensibility" (p. 106), or that Darío is "the perfect Parnassian" in *Prosas profanas* (p. 109), or that "within another twenty years all the poems of the *Romancero gitano* . . . of García Lorca will seem to us merely another fad" (p. 123).

The format and error-free text attest to the high standards set by the University of California Press. Author and editor alike perhaps should bear responsibility for speaking of the "eighteenth" century instead of the "seventeenth" when referring to Góngora's influence on such American writers as Pedro de Oña, Sigüenza y Góngora, Sor Juana, and Gregorio de Matos (p. 202).

JOHN E. ENGLEKIRK

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*Asturiano y provenzal en el Fuero de Avilés.* By Rafael Lapesa. (Acta Salmanticensis, Filosofía y Letras, tomo II, núm. 4.) Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca, 1948: 112 pages.

The *Fuero de Avilés*, an archaic dialectal text of approximately one hundred short paragraphs, has been in the focus of interest among students of Spanish antiquities on account of its numerous abnormal or unusual traits. Early workers, including Ticknor, Amador de los Ríos, Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, Arias de Miranda, and Baist, were chiefly concerned with the authenticity<sup>1</sup> of the document and, coincidentally, with the accuracy of its purported date (1155). Conversely, the latest explorer, Rafael Lapesa, in a thoroughly original monograph, places full emphasis on the meticulous study of the language and, specifically, on the segregation of the curiously mixed Old Asturian and Old Provençal features in phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon, which give the text an almost unique hybrid appearance.<sup>1</sup> He starts out by accepting Menéndez Pidal's opinion, stated in 1906, that the available text, though not the original, is a distinctly early and moderately faithful copy (middle of the twelfth century). The entire analysis is based on the facsimile appended to Fernández-Guerra's edition of 1865; Lapesa dissents from that scholar's historical interpretation of the text, but does not question his competence as a palaeographer or take exception to his lexicon.

The chief novelty of approach lies in Lapesa's skill in capitalizing systematically on Alfonso the Sixth's statement that Avilés and Oviedo

<sup>1</sup>Hybrid features are also noticeable (to a smaller degree) in the *Fuero de Oviedo* (1145) and the *Fuero de Valfermoso de las Monjas* (1187). The discovery of this hybridism must be credited to Sr. Lapesa; cf. A. Castro, *RFE*, 1915, XII, 88.



## Reviews

ROHLFS, GERHARD. *Romanische Philologie. Erster Teil. Allgemeine Romanistik. Französische und provenzalische Philologie.* Winters Studienführer: Schriftenreihe zur Einführung in das gesamte wissenschaftliche Studium. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1950. Pp. 208

The title of Professor Rohlf's book may appear a misnomer to many readers, yet it is admittedly difficult to find a more adequate label of equal brevity for the kind of manual he offers. Fundamentally, it is an annotated bibliography for the use of beginning students of "philology," here taken as an aggregate of linguistics, literary history, and not strictly scholarly "Frankreichkunde" (which corresponds to regional studies on the collegiate level). As a result, discriminating critics may notice a certain unevenness of tone and content: discussions of serious historical problems are not infrequently interrupted by bits of practical advice on heterogeneous, in part trivial, matters (the purchase of recommended books, the planning of vacation trips abroad, the underlining of noteworthy passages in required readings, the behavior of the newly-trained teacher in the classroom). To the bibliographic hints and the personal admonitions may be added, as the third element, thinly scattered scraps of linguistic theory, embodied in condensed introductions to individual chapters: thus, the scopes of phonetics, morphology, and syntax are defined and some methods of attacking characteristic problems are outlined.

Even a period of strain in university facilities, your reviewer feels, hardly justifies the merger into a single, excessively compact book of three essentially different, in part downright incompatible guides. For the student concerned primarily with elementary language teaching, a far too heavy load of names, dates, and facts is offered on topics of remote interest to him. The rare student driven by intellectual curiosity to take up the study of Romance philology chiefly for its own sake may easily be bored and even discouraged by intermittent mention of class-

## SOME NAMES OF THE BAT IN IBERO-ROMANCE

### I. INTRODUCTION

THROUGH the grotesquely distorted build of its body: the smooth wing membranes extending between the four disproportionately elongated fingers of the fore-limbs, another membrane spread between the tail and the hind-limbs, the remarkably capacious thorax, the flattened ribs, the toes and the first digits terminating in much-curved claws, the bristles on the side of the muzzle, the enormous ears serving largely as tactile organs, and the bizarre leaf-like expansions surrounding the nasal aperture, the bat (anciently known under the more picturesque names of flittermouse or rear-mouse) has traditionally caught the fancy of writers, painters, scholarly collectors of oddities, and simple folk alike in most countries in which it is found in any numbers. Add to this exquisitely ugly appearance such queer habits as its ghost-like emergence at nightfall and shortly before dawn, followed by slumber all day long, hanging downward, the wings wrapped around its body; its inaudible flight in the dark, interrupted only by an occasional strident squeak; its preference for such unusual hiding places as caves, precipices, crevasses, chimneys, and dilapidated walls. Goya, remembered as a painter of realistic animal scenes chiefly from his deft portrayal of bullfights, knew how to use the bat for evocative effects, to create an atmosphere of uneasiness or of fantastic eeriness, also in visionary pictures of man endowed with flying power.

Scholars have long observed the astonishing variety of the designations of the "bat" in Ibero-Romance, reflecting the speakers' incessant preoccupation with the reputedly most monstrous among

The following is a partial list of abbreviated titles used in this article. *AIRC* = *Anales del Instituto Lingüístico de Cuyo* (Mendoza, Argentina). *AR* = *Archivum Romanicum*. *BDC* = *Bulletin de dialectologia catalana*. *BDHA* = *Biblioteca de dialectologia hispanoamericana*. *BF* = *Boletim de Filologia* (Lisbon). *BICC* = *Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo*. *BIF* = *Boletín del Instituto de Filología* (Santiago de Chile). *JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. *LGRPh* = *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*. *RDTP* = *Revista de dialectologia y tradiciones populares*. *RPF* = *Revista portuguesa de filologia*. *RLiR* = *Revue de linguistique romane*. *VKR* = *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen*.

## SOME NAMES OF

small animals.<sup>1</sup> Inventoried-day dialects form the including one eminently made to work out the derivative onomasiologic inquiry out the aid of a linguistic entries. The available based on first-hand information linguistic atlases.<sup>2</sup> How graphed more than the direct picture of the situation resources so far tapped in gists and by borrowing from neighboring fields, preem

My purpose, then, is to and dated variant forms than those extant;<sup>3</sup> to co-

<sup>1</sup> P. Henríquez Ureña, *El es* quotes the coexistence of eleven example of instability of usage.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly informative Solalinde, and F. Krüger, repr.

<sup>3</sup> R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes* delimited the areas of rival variants (Western Leon, Zamora, Salam Asturias, Northeastern Leon, etc.). Elcock's note "The Enigma" (XXV, 483-493, was severely re and J. Corominas, "Los nombres RFF, 1943, V, 1-20. For a list bearing on names of small animals told, "Onomasiologia," *Enciclopedia* 234-239. The studies of M. C. along entirely different lines.

<sup>4</sup> C. J. Forsyth Major, "I 1893, XVII, 148-160b (on *ues Rom*, 1893, XXII, 604; and *th der Fledermaus auf dem französischen* directed by K. Jägersberg with the by G. Rohlf, O. Bloch, E. B. scheg, H. Meier, M. Reinthal On Rum. *Ilftac* 'bat' and its *lejdik*), see H. Tiktin, *Rumáni*

<sup>5</sup> The checked record of *muricech*, *esmorlach*) raises a

What do these works add to Svevo's stature as a literary figure? Both pieces are pleasant but they can be considered to be no more than mere sketches, perhaps for a short story or a novelette. He was a dramatist before he turned to the novel, but in the former one could only classify him a dilettante. Svevo did not possess the technical training nor was his temperament suited to write drama, and although he wanted to practice that form and was preoccupied with it throughout his life-time, his own disappointment was more than justified.

KARL LUDWIG SELIG

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<sup>1</sup> *Il Convegno*, Milano, XII (1931), no. 4, pp. 161-186, no. 5, pp. 225-267.

<sup>2</sup> *Panarie* (Rivista d'arte e di cultura) Udine, IX, no. 49, Jan.-Feb.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII (1937), no. 5-6.

1932, pp. 42-53.

<sup>4</sup> Livia Veneziani Svevo, *Vita di Mio Marito con Inediti di Italo Svevo*, Trieste, 1950, 137; see also editor's note *Il Convegno*, Milano, XII (1931), 267.

<sup>5</sup> *Vita*, 139.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-22.